

# THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 26 - No. 42 Monday, November 19, 1962 Price 10c

## CUBA AS SEEN BY PROF. SHAPIRO

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## RACE PREJUDICE AND A LITTLE GIRL

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# Cuba Repeats Demand: Leave Guantanamo

## Vote Shows Real Issues Were Buried

By Edward Slater

Neither the Republican nor Democratic Party can claim a clear victory in the Nov. 5 elections, the results of which were described in a *Christian Science Monitor* article as "a stand-off, a crazy quilt, a checkerboard." The Democrats achieved moderate success in maintaining their congressional majority at roughly the same margin, despite the usual tendency for a presidential party to suffer losses in an off-year election. On the other hand, the Republicans retained New York, captured three other large states, and won four seats in the usually solid Democratic South.

Voters tended to express their discontent with both parties at the gubernatorial level. Twelve incumbent governors or candidates of incumbent parties, six Republicans and six Democrats, were defeated. In other states where the incumbent party was re-elected, such as New York, the plurality of the candidate was reduced.

The New York victory of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller and Sen. Jacob Javits can be largely attributed to the weakness of their Democratic opposition. Neither they nor the Democratic candidates, Robert Morgenthau and James Donovan, made any pretense of injecting real issues into the campaign.

The margin by which incumbent California Gov. Edmund Brown defeated Richard Nixon (also less than his 1948 plurality) was not such as to indicate solid support for the Democratic Party in that state. The entire campaign had been marked by a tendency for voters to feel more strongly against one candidate or the other, rather than to give positive support to either. California voters

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## Biddle 'Regrets' Smith-Act Frame-Up—After 21 Years

The wartime Attorney General, who carried through the first federal prosecution under the infamous Smith Act of 1940, admits in a newly-published book, "I have since come to regret that I authorized the prosecution."

Francis Biddle, who headed the Department of Justice under President Franklin D. Roosevelt during World War II, makes this declaration in his autobiographical work, *In Brief Authority*.

In his book, Biddle now says he undertook "with some reluctance" the prosecution of 28 members and leaders of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO and of the Socialist Workers Party just prior to U.S. entry into the Second World War. Eighteen of the defendants, including James P. Cannon, founder and now National Chairman of the SWP, and Farrell Dobbs, one of the leaders of Local 544 and now SWP National Secretary, were convicted and imprisoned under the Smith Act.

### A Sedition Law

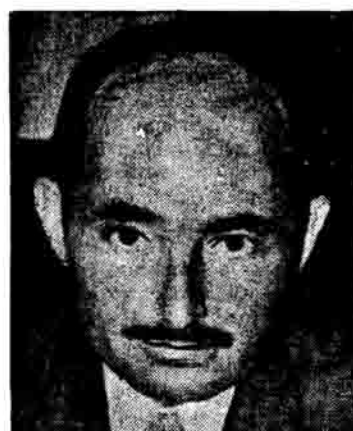
Biddle says that at the time he initiated the historic prosecution he believed the Smith Act — signed by Roosevelt with a motivating statement the then Solicitor General Biddle helped to draft — was "unconstitutional under the First Amendment of the Constitution, which protected freedom of utterance." He adds that the Smith Act "was the first peacetime sedition law since the notorious statute of 1798, which expired in two years and was not renewed..."

Biddle observes that "History showed that sedition statutes — laws addressed to what men said — invariably had been used to prevent and punish criticism of the government, particularly in time of war. I believed them to be unnecessary and harmful."

He writes that he "hoped and believed," when he first pressed



Vincent R. Dunne (left) of Minneapolis and Francis Biddle, two of the chief figures in the historic Minneapolis Labor Case of 1941. Biddle, Attorney General during World War II, directed the first federal prosecution under the Smith Act of 1940. Dunne, a leader of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO, was among the 18 victims imprisoned as a result of prosecution Biddle now says he "regrets."



the case 21 years ago, that the Smith Act would "be knocked out" by the U.S. Supreme Court when the Minneapolis Labor Case came to appeal. Indeed, he now contends that "I authorized a prosecution so that the law would be tested at the threshold..."

If such was indeed his view in 1941, he did not express it at the time, nor during the three appeals to the Supreme Court, a majority of whose members were appointed by Roosevelt. The high court three times refused even to review the case, "to my surprise," as Biddle now claims. In fact, he kept his silence for more than 15 years after the death of Roosevelt in 1945.

Biddle writes: "I should not have tried to test the criminal provisions of the statute in this particular case. The two Dunne brothers and their twenty-seven associates were the leaders of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party,

a little splinter group, which claimed 3,000 members, and by no conceivable stretch of a liberal imagination could have been said to constitute any 'clear and present' danger to the government..." He adds that "there had been no substantial overt act outside of talk and threats..."

### Gangsters vs. Militants

Biddle conceals the fact that Roosevelt himself directly ordered the prosecution at the behest of Daniel J. Tobin, head of the gangster-ridden AFL Teamsters, and Roosevelt's political colleague, when Tobin's union rule was threatened by the clear and present danger of the militant leadership of Local 544, including the Dunne brothers. It is good to have Biddle's even incomplete confession about the Minneapolis case frame-up, but for a true and complete account of the first Smith Act case see Art Preis' article on Page 6.

## Doubts U.S. Alleged Vow Not to Invade

By Fred Halstead

NOV. 14 — In the face of continued military, economic and diplomatic pressure from Washington, Cuba's revolutionary government is maintaining its demand for withdrawal of the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo and the rest of Premier Fidel Castro's "five points" for ending U.S. aggression against Cuba.

U. S. newspapers, amazed at the spectacle of tiny Cuba remaining firm on its own demands, characterize its stands as "truculent," "boorish," and "incredibly foolish."

It isn't bravado on the Cubans' part. It's just that — as they have repeatedly stated — they don't trust Kennedy's alleged promise not to invade Cuba and they know that U.S. policy still aims at crushing the Cuban Revolution. The Cubans don't intend to make Kennedy's task easier by allowing themselves or allowing "inspectors" to survey Cuba's defenses.

Khrushchev acted unilaterally when he agreed in his Oct. 27 letter to Kennedy to withdraw strategic missiles from Cuba under UN inspection. At that time Khrushchev explained his action with the statement to Kennedy: "I regard with respect and trust the statement you made in your message on Oct. 27, 1962, that there would be no attack, no invasion of Cuba..." Then the motives which induced us to render assistance of such kind to Cuba disappear."

This is Khrushchev's position, but the Cubans don't believe that the U.S. has abandoned its intention of attacking Cuba and destroying the Cuban Revolution. As Premier Castro said in his "five points" statement: "The guarantees, of which President Kennedy speaks, against invasion of Cuba will not exist without the elimination also of the naval blockade... and adoption, among others, of the following measures..." 1) The end of attempts to strangle Cuba economically. 2) The end of espionage, sabotage and counter-revolutionary activity organized by the U.S. 3) The end of pirate attacks encouraged by the U.S. 4) The end of violations of Cuban air space and coastal waters. 5) Withdrawal of the U.S. base from Cuban soil at Guantanamo Bay.

Each of these points merely asks that the U.S. cease its violations of international law and Cuban sovereignty. There is nothing truculent about them. Indeed, the Cubans have repeatedly given assurance that they favor negotiations, a peaceful settlement and even disarmament. On Oct. 8 before the United Nations, Cuban President Osvaldo Dorticos declared:

"Were the United States able to give us proof, by word and deed, that it would not carry out aggression against our country, then, we declare solemnly before you here and now, our weapons

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## SWP Vote in N.Y.C.

NEW YORK — Unofficial figures, issued by the Police Department, for the SWP election ticket in New York City show an encouraging increase over returns for previous years.

Richard Garza and Sylvia Weinstein, SWP candidates for Governor and Lieut. Governor, polled 15,215 votes, more than double the amount polled by Garza in the 1961 mayoralty election.

Leroy McKee, running for Attorney General, received 15,863 votes — the highest number of any candidate on the SWP ticket. Allen Taplin, candidate for Comptroller, and Carl Feingold, candidate for U. S. Senator, polled 14,983 and 13,510 votes respectively.

The gubernatorial candidate of the only other socialist party on the ballot, Eric Hass of the Socialist Labor Party, polled 7,096 votes in New York City.

Complete state returns will not be available for several weeks.

## Meany and the NAACP

By William Bundy

NEW YORK — In a speech to the convention of the Negro American Labor Council here Nov. 9, AFL-CIO President George Meany accused NAACP Labor Secretary Herbert Hill of attacking the trade-union movement.

Meany's calculated and scornful tirade stemmed from two actions of the NAACP labor secretary. One was the filing last month of a series of legal actions against job discrimination in which certain unions were named as offenders. In at least two cases, the NAACP asked the National Labor Relations Board to revoke certification of the unions as exclusive bargaining agents.

The other — and far more important — factor in provoking Meany's attack was that Hill had truthfully described conditions endured by Negro and Puerto Rican workers under the jurisdiction of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. He did

this in a report to a subcommittee hearing of the House Committee on Education and Labor on Aug. 8.

Hill said the ILGWU is "a trade union controlled by a rigid bureaucracy that long ago lost contact with its rank and file members. A bureaucracy that has more in common ethnically and socially with the employers than with the workers it is supposed to represent."

He detailed with substantial accuracy the low wages, lack of opportunity for learning skills, barriers to union office and even membership, confronting newer workers, the vast majority of whom, in New York at least, are Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

These facts are not new. They are common knowledge among the ILGWU rank and file. The socialist press had previously exposed them. They are visible to any observer who walks through New York's garment center and

looks into a number of shops. They are obvious to anyone who attends a few ILGWU meetings — in those locals with jurisdiction over low-paid jobs, the workers are largely Negro and Puerto Rican, while at meetings of locals where the pay is higher, the dark faces can be counted on one's fingers.

By effectively publicizing these facts and associating the name of the NAACP with their exposure, Hill did the labor movement a service. His analysis of the causes of the situation, however, is faulty. And the remedies he proposed to the Congressional committee — more government interference in unions and de-certification — will not solve anything for the workers involved.

Hill implies the situation exists because of racial or ethnic prejudice on the part of ILGWU officers. While such prejudice exists in almost every area of American life and the ILGWU bureaucracy

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# The Politics of Co-Existence

By Tom Kerry

NEW YORK — The verbal acrobatics resorted to by the political pundits of the American Communist Party to motivate their devious electoral policy in the recent elections was a wonder to behold — especially in New York!

Until the night of Oct. 22 they had been gliding along on an even keel, unmercifully raking the Republican "warmongers," benignly dipping their banner in salute to the Democratic "peace-lovers," and blandly ignoring the militantly anti-war, pro-Cuba, candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

Then, all hell broke loose! On the evening of Oct. 22, "peace-lover" Kennedy propelled mankind to the brink with his bellicose ultimatum to the Soviet Union accompanied by the announcement of an American naval blockade of Cuba.

Not one single capitalist candidate, Democrat or Republican, piped up in protest. On the contrary, all clambered aboard Kennedy's war-chariot, pushing and elbowing to be first in line to declare their solidarity with Kennedy's warmongering action.

## The Feingold Furor

The only ones to stand up publicly in open opposition to the whole pack were the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party. On Oct. 23, with tension mounting to a fevered pitch, the senatorial candidate of the SWP, Carl Feingold, appeared on a local television program and spoke out in defense of the Cuban Revolution. Feingold expressed his party's uncompromising opposition to the brinkmanship of Kennedy and his cohorts.

This speech created a furor. The station announced it had received upward of 300 telephone calls in protest and a sprinkling of calls in support. The following day at SWP headquarters campaign workers were kept busy answering telephone calls from viewers congratulating the SWP for its forthright stand against war and the warmakers.

The capitalist press reported the



Brink-of-War Kennedy

incident and stated that Feingold was the only candidate running for election in the state of New York who had spoken out against the Kennedy war ultimatum.

Then a strange thing happened. For the first time in the course of the entire election campaign, *The Worker*, which speaks for the American Communist Party, declined to take notice of the SWP election campaign and candidates. This it did in two successive issues, Nov. 4 and Nov. 6, published just prior to election day. In both issues there appeared articles containing a warning to their readers. Against Kennedy and the Democrats? No! Believe it or not — against Feingold and the SWP!

## Enter Albertson

In the issue of Nov. 6, William Albertson, one of the top spokesmen for the CP, deplored that "once again, some people will, with great misgiving, cast their ballots for the Trotskyites, since they, mistakenly, see no other way of expressing themselves for peace and socialism."

It seems that upon close scrutiny of the SWP election platform, Albertson had found that "the phrase 'peaceful co-existence' is completely absent." Horrors! Not just "absent" but "completely!" How can a "Marxist-Leninist" of Albertson's stature overlook such a dereliction?

But, if it isn't presuming too much on Albertson's good nature, perhaps he could inform us if, as a result of his exhaustive research, he was able to find that all-important phrase in the platform of the Democratic party? And if he did, which is extremely doubtful, of what possible significance it could have in the light of the action taken by Kennedy and his fellow-Democrats?

I am sure that Albertson, if he replies, would enter — what the lawyers call — a demurrer, in which he would protest that neither he, nor *The Worker*, nor the CP, publicly called upon their supporters to vote the Democratic ticket in this state. That's true! It's never done that openly. For two reasons.

First, to avoid "embarrassing" the "peace-loving" Democrats whom they support, and second, because of the certainty that such endorsement would immediately

invite a repudiation. The technique is more devious. For example:

Writing in the Nov. 4 issue of *The Worker*, grass-roots political "expert" Mike Davidow, after a lengthy diatribe against the SWP, "with its phony offer of peace without peaceful co-existence," finally concludes that: "The fight for peace can at present be strengthened by giving a rebuff to the menace of Rockefeller (Mr. Imperialism) and his man Friday, Senator Jacob Javits."

But — if not for the SWP, and certainly not for the Socialist Labor Party, and obviously not for the Conservative Party, then the only conclusion that can be drawn by a reader of *The Worker* is that a vote for the Democrats would be a vote for peace, "peaceful co-existence," and all such goodies!

The editorial in the same issue is a bit more subtle. It declares against boycott or abstention from the election. It then singles out the Republican candidates by name as the target for attack and defeat. It fails to mention any Democrat among the list of warmongers, war-inciters and warmakers. Therefore — what conclusion is a reader of the editorial to draw but the obvious one of voting Democrat.

That's the way it's done. Not openly, not straight forward and unambiguous but by innuendo, implication, inference and double-speak. A political party that consistently resorts to such chicanery is sick — sick unto death with the fatal disease of galloping opportunism.

Why did *The Worker* find it necessary to exhort its readers not to vote the SWP ticket? Isn't it obvious that the CP leaders were having a difficult time keeping their supporters in line with a policy that smelled before Oct. 22 and stank to high heaven after? There is considerable evidence to support this conclusion. The rank-and-file members and supporters of the CP who retain even a shred of class consciousness gagged at the thought of casting a vote for the representatives of the war party on election day. The stench of class betrayal was so rank that even a clothespin on the nose would be of no help.

## Voting Conscience

No, aside from direct evidence from those in a position to know, there is the evidence of the vote itself. The SWP ticket drew a larger vote in this election than in any previous campaign. Because the crucial issue of war and peace was so sharply drawn in the course of the campaign the vote must be viewed as largely a conscious radical protest vote.

I am sure that those CP members and supporters who rejected the "advice" of *The Worker* find it much easier to live with themselves today than do those who gratuitously proffered the advice to vote the straight War Deal ticket.

All honor to the men and women who voted their conscience on election day — there was no better way to strike a blow for peace on that day — even though the "phrase peaceful co-existence" was "completely absent" from the SWP election platform.

That is a subject warranting further elaboration and we shall return to it in subsequent issues.

I determined, at all hazard, to lift up the standard of emancipation in the eyes of the nation, within sight of Bunker Hill, and in the birth-place of liberty. That standard is now unfurled; and long may it float, unhurt by the spoils of time or the missiles of a desperate foe; yea, till every chain be broken, and every bondman set free! Let Southern oppressors tremble; let their North abettors tremble; let their Southern apologists tremble; let all the enemies of the persecuted blacks tremble. —William Lloyd Garrison



A week-long strike by the Newspaper Guild at the *New York Daily News* — which with two-million daily circulation is the country's largest newspaper — was settled on terms described as unsatisfactory by leaders of other unions on the city's seven major dailies.

The Guild had originally asked for a wage increase of ten per cent, a 30-hour week instead of 35 hours, severance pay and other fringe benefits. It settled for a raise of about 2.5 per cent each year for two years, no change in hours, severance pay after 25 years' service and some fringes.

Prior to the strike, a unity committee of officers of the ten newspaper unions had been formed and a joint bargaining strategy announced. The Guild's contracts with the seven papers expired Nov. 1 and those involving members of the nine craft unions — such as typographers, pressmen and paper handlers — expire Dec. 7 and March 7. The Guild is an industrial union whose members are largely editorial and commercial employees.

The unity move was designed to counter traditional tactics of the Publishers Association which has taken on the unions one by one in the past. The publishers have a pact whereby they agree to lock out all union members on all seven papers if one paper is shut down by the several unions respecting the picket lines of that one which is on strike.

The unity committee had agreed that all unions would support the strike of any one and that "no one union has the right to settle with the publishers on terms that do not meet the needs of the remainder of the unions."

The unity move was given impetus also by the fact that all the unions, but particularly the crafts, face increasing pressure from automation and a drive by the publishers to cut into traditional work rules.

Terms of the settlement agreed to by leaders of the Guild, Secretary of Labor Wirtz, and the publishers were presented to a meeting of the ten-union unity committee before being put before the Guild membership. Bertram A. Powers, head of New York Typographical Union Local 6 and chairman of the unity committee, reported that "we considered the whole offer and found it to be unacceptable." The committee voted not to release the Guild from its obligation to the group, but leaders of the Guild recommended the pact anyway.

The Guild *Daily News* unit council — a delegated body — also voted to recommend the settlement. It declared, however, that if any craft union struck Dec. 7, "this unit would give full support." A mass meeting of most of the

1,123 Guild members at the *News* accepted the settlement by a hand vote. Top editorial workers, who often dominate the Guild membership, get a base rate of \$178.50 per week under the new pact.

Powers declared that he was sorry the Guild had been "unable to meet its basic obligation to the trade unions in the newspaper industry of New York City." He said "it would be a colossal mistake" for the publishers to "expect to impose the Guild settlement on other unions."

It remains to be seen whether unity will survive the weakness of the Guild leadership, but in one sense it has already been successful.

The 4,000 members of craft unions at the *News* respected the Guild's picket lines and the publishers did not lock out the workers on the six other dailies. There are some 19,000 craft union and 5,700 Guild members on the seven papers.

Sixty per cent of the workers at six divisions of North American Aviation voted in favor of a union shop but the union-security provision, which the United Auto Workers sought, will not be included in the new contracts. According to a federal mediation proposal for the aerospace industry — agreed to by the company and the union before the vote — a two-thirds majority on the union shop provision was necessary before all workers in the bargaining unit would be required to join or pay dues to the union.

The vote was 19,232 in favor of the provision and 12,899 against. UAW officials said the failure to obtain the two-thirds majority was due to office and other white-collar employees with little or no experience with trade unionism.

## Bazaar Items Wanted

The annual Christmas Bazaar at 116 University Place, N.Y.C., will be held on Dec. 7 and 8. Judging from the wild variety of articles already donated, it should be the biggest, liveliest, most entertaining event of the season.

Bazaar chairman Barbara Doritty urges readers to contribute "jewelry, ceramics, dishes, pots, pans, irons, prints, paintings, etchings, drawings, old watches, new watches, rugs, curtains, pillows, lamps, books, furniture, glassware, TV sets, clothing, toys, and anything else you may have around the house."

If you can't bring your contributions to 116 University Place, call ALgonquin 5-7852 and we'll arrange to pick them up.

## Weekly Calendar

### DETROIT

LET'S TALK TURKEY — and trimmin's. Enjoy Thanksgiving Dinner with friends of the Friday Night Socialist Form at Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Thurs., Nov. 22. Social hour at 4 p.m. Dinner at 5. Contrib. \$1.50, students, \$1.25, children, \$1. For reservations call TE 3-8136 or TE 1-6135.



### NEW YORK

A BLAST. Thadd Beebe, guitarist. Twisting. Refreshments. Sat., Nov. 17, 8:30 p.m., at 125 4th Ave. Aup: Young Socialist Alliance. Contrib. 99c.

THANKSGIVING DAY DINNER, Thurs., Nov. 22 at the Weissman's, 327 E. 17th St. Open house from 3 p.m. dinner served 4 to 7 p.m. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. Contrib. \$2.00.

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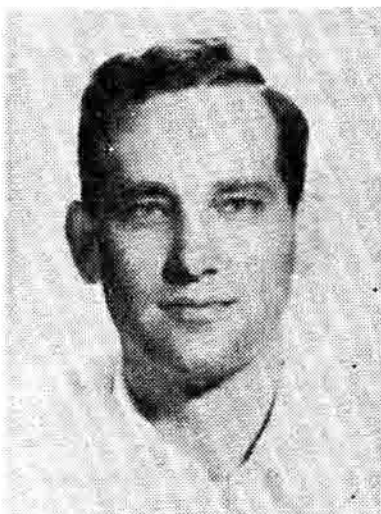
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# Cuba Revisited — A Report by Prof. Shapiro

[The following are excerpts from a speech delivered by Dr. Samuel Shapiro at the Friday Night Socialist Forum in Detroit Oct. 5. An expert on Latin America, Prof. Shapiro has visited Cuba a number of times, most recently in August. While we may differ with some of Dr. Shapiro's views we respect and salute his honesty in reporting the facts about Cuba both in his lectures and his articles in such publications as the *New Republic* and *Nation*. The boxed items on this page are from Dr. Shapiro's remarks in the question-and-discussion period following his speech. — Editor]



Dr. Samuel Shapiro

Everywhere in Latin America you find American investment menaced now by the shadow of *fidélismo*. Once this "little bearded fellow" — he's not very little either, he's taller than I am — but once he gets away with it, Bolivians, Peruvians, Argentines, Chileans and Brazilians start to get the idea. Therefore, one sees the determination on the part of American foreign policy that the Cuban experiment will not be allowed to succeed. This, I think, is the reason for the almost frantic maneuvers of the Kennedy administration to clamp off every possible source of aid . . .

## Cuban Economy

One also reads in the American newspapers about how everybody in Cuba is starving; about the imminent collapse of the regime — you see, socialism doesn't work. Part of this propaganda campaign, I suppose, is directed against the American public so that it doesn't get any dangerous ideas. Part of it is directed against the other Latin American nations: "Look out, boys, this is what will happen to you if you try to tamper with American companies."

Just what is happening to the Cuban economy? The first thing that has to be said is that it's going through a massive reorganization. It's been wrenched loose from the American market — wrenched loose, it seems to me, at the decision of the American presidents themselves . . .

Cuba was as much a part of the American economy as Florida. This made a tremendous problem when this was suddenly cut off; when Cuba was suddenly isolated from the market for her sugar, from the supply of all her raw materials . . .

The Cuban economy then, has had a lot of dislocations. There is a shortage of food. When I went into Cuba without a ration card, I'd go into a restaurant and it would have only bread and butter for breakfast. And sometimes for supper, there would only be avocados. I think during that entire time I didn't have any milk and I didn't have any eggs or meat. I had fish, but only when I went out and caught it myself. I went out along with a Russian fishing boat and caught some fish — so I had fish.

There is a problem; and the Cubans have compounded their difficulties by making mistakes. There is no attempt in Cuba to hide this. No one gets purged for saying they made mistakes. Indeed, they're discussed at length on the front pages of the Havana newspapers. Guevara, who's usually more frank than anybody else, says that "we made absurd plans, with absurd supplies that we dreamed up." Fidel said: "We are ashamed. Who is responsible? (always he asks rhetorical questions) We are responsible. All of us — administrators, workers, technicians. All of us." The Cuban economy then is going through a difficult time. There is a complete shortage, for example, of razor blades. There's no Coca-Cola. There's a kind of lemon drink they call Coca-Cola Blanco, white Coca-Cola: it's in a Coca-Cola bottle but it tastes like Seven-Up.

The truth is, no revolution ever came to an end because it couldn't get Coca-Cola. We Americans have forgotten our own Revolution — There wasn't any Coca-Cola at Valley Forge, either; and there wasn't much food; there weren't any shoes. We went through and won out in the end; revolutions don't collapse because of economic difficulty . . .

But I don't think the Cuban regime is going to collapse because of its economic problems. It'll scrape by. Nobody is going hungry in Cuba. You're hungry in the sense that you can't get hamburgers, and you can't get malted milks, and you get only one or two eggs a week and there's only milk for children under a certain age; but nobody's starving! You get enough to eat. I gained a couple of pounds in Cuba. I didn't eat what I wanted to, but I ate enough. I had no ration card.

People are starving in Peru. They're starving in northeastern Brazil. They're starving in the highlands of Mexico and in Guatemala; they've been starving for years. But that's a different kind of starvation — that kind is O.K. because it's not — anti-American starvation.

## Agriculture

I was really struck, in Cuba, by the way the groundwork is being laid for an increase in production. I am by no means a doctrinaire. I don't say: the Cubans have a socialist economy, therefore, they are going to be successful. I think that one of the questions that recent history poses is this question of socialism in agriculture. It's been a problem in the Soviet Union, a problem in China. It's grave problem in Cuba. And I don't know how one would solve it.

But I did see the basis for an increase in food production in Cuba; and I think one that would really get them out of their troubles. I think things should begin to improve after the next harvest and get increasingly better after that . . .

The Cuban agricultural problem is going to be solved, I think, within a reasonably short time. Putting all question of ideology to one side, Cuba is simply so rich in relation to its population that they can't help producing. The Cubans say: *Esta tierra nunca duerme* — "This land never sleeps." There is never any frost. You get two crops each year, some places; and in parts you get three crops. It's not overcrowded.

I think they are having trouble because they never produced these things before. They never grew tomatoes, they never grew beans and rice — they imported them. They are learning how and it is difficult and they have troubles. But I really believe — and this is not just an article of faith — I really think they are going to solve them.

I'd like to speak next of the Cuban government and what's happening to it. In my article in the *Nation* I describe at some length the meeting of the UES — the Union of Secondary School

Students. It's rather typical of the way Cuban politics are shaping up. One gets the impression from the American newspapers that there are no politics in Cuba. There are jails and firing-squads and fierce bearded tyrants — but no politics. On the contrary, Cuban politics, as I indicated in the article, are at a level of an American presidential campaign, and kept up all the time. There are always elections, demonstrations, speeches, conferences and all the rest of it.

The UES — the Secondary School Students — had an honest election. They elected delegates from each school. Now, it is quite true that there is control of the posts on top; that the lines that the group will take are set down by the people in control of the revolution. But, having been there, I simply can't help being convinced that the revolution has the support of a substantial majority of the Cuban people.

I'm not an itinerant radical looking for some place to soothe my bruised feelings from living in a non-radical country like the United States. I did meet people who were opposed to the Cuban Revolution. I sought them out. It was hard to find them — honestly. I asked any militiaman I could: what do you feel about the Revolution? And I speak Spanish very well and I went on my own — and I really just ran into revolutionaries!

## People Back Fidel

I didn't get a guided tour. I went on a bus — an eight-hour bus trip down to Playa Giron — and I talked to people on the bus. I am convinced that there is more support for Fidel Castro in Cuba than there is for Kennedy in the United States. For Kennedy, we know — we counted the noses: barely half.

The situation is one in a state of rapid flux. At the moment, it seems to be pretty clear that Castro controls the Revolution . . . He was able in 1959 to destroy the conservative president of Cuba with a television broadcast. He was able in March of 1962 to destroy a Communist bureaucrat, Annibal Escalante, with another television broadcast. This talk of the Communists running the Revolution seems to me not true — yet. There is increasing Communist influence — certainly there is. But it seems clear that Fidel is still in power — and appearing directly — he speaks every week. . . .

Castro's kind of one-man rule makes me really uneasy. We are

pretty far along in the 20th Century. And it's no longer possible to look at this kind of thing with the naive eyes that made people look at Mussolini and say that he made the trains run on time. Or the way Lincoln Steffens went to the Soviet Union and said, "Well I've seen the future, and it works."

By and large, I am in favor of the Cuban Revolution. I think, on balance, it's done more good than harm. I think, certainly, a lot of what it has accomplished simply had to be done this way. But, the one-man-leadership is not a permanent form of government.

Fidel, it seems to me has so far been able to temper the bureaucracy and some of the injustice that springs up in a social movement of this kind. A hopeful moment was his firing of Escalante — Escalante, a Communist militant, an old member of the PSP, the Cuban Communist Party, who had been moving his friends into positions of authority, a man who had dismissed some 26th of July people because they were not ideologically sound. Fidel made a speech and the next day Escalante was on a plane for Prague — and a lot of his friends followed him. . . .

## Fight Against Abuses

I think that as long as Fidel runs the Revolution he will fight against this kind of abuse. But, the question is how long he can run the Revolution singlehanded? What would happen if he were to die? What would happen if he were to go sour? Or if his personality were to change? There is no institutional protection in Cuba against tyranny. I don't think there is a tyranny. This is not Hitlerism or Stalinism. But there is always the possibility that it may become so. I think that people who are interested in the Cuban Revolution, who worry with it, might worry about this problem. I know a lot of Cuban supporters of the Revolution who do . . .

A third question is that of the changed psychology of the Cubans. And this is what really impressed me. I mentioned the fact that something like 70 to 80 per cent of the technical people had left. But — God — are you impressed with the ones who stayed! They are middle-class people, who could have gone to Miami, could have gotten jobs, could have lived a pleasant life. Instead they chose to stay in Cuba, with all that meant in terms of a lower living standard, of overwork, of the risk of being invaded, of being called on for almost superhuman exertion . . .

## Analogy With Abolitionists

Well, I'm going down to Miami — of all places — on Nov. 9 to read a paper to the Southern Historical Association called John Brown and Fidel Castro. In it I compare John Brown, the Abolitionist who was hanged after the attack on Harper's Ferry, to Castro. And if you think about it for a minute, you see the similarity: Castro's attack on the Moncada Arsenal is just like John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry. Both of these men were willing to die for their beliefs. Both of them organized an insurrection. Both of them made famous last speeches — Castro's History Will Absolve Me, and John Brown's saying, "I thought I could wash away the sins of this land without blood but I see now it will take a lot of blood."

It seems to me that people who believe, as I take it most of you believe, in radical changes in American society, are in a situation like the Abolitionists back in the 1830's. The Abolitionists were a hand-

ful; and Abolitionists were a despised minority. You know how they mobbed Garrison in Boston; how they killed Lovejoy in Illinois. In the election of 1840 they got only a few thousand votes. But they were right. They were right about slavery. They were right about the fact that slave-owners would never agree to reform. That it would take force to abolish slavery — that the slave-owners would rather go down fighting than yield their privileges.

It's just like going back to the 1850's when you talk to a Peruvian landowner. He talks about Indians the way Calhoun talked about Negro slaves. You know: "They're Indians, they're ignorant, they're happy, they don't know any better" and the like . . .

And so, it seems, you know, you're only a handful. I've been writing and talking about Latin America for over three years — nobody pays any attention. But in the long run, if you're right, you're bound to win out . . .

## Tribute to Worthy

Bill Worthy knows much more about Cuba than I do — I'm just a part-time reporter. I'm a college professor most of the time and a reporter sometimes in the summer. Bill Worthy is a professional. How come he's going to jail and I'm standing here talking to you? Why?

Is it because he's colored? Because he's a Negro and I'm white? And don't think it doesn't make a difference — when you come back into Miami — what your color is.

I've read Bill Worthy's accounts of how he was treated at the Miami airport. I came back and had no trouble. But when a Negro comes back to Miami, he gets a going-over! I wish I had the account here. They kept him six hours in customs. He couldn't even go to the toilet. He wanted to go eat breakfast — "Sit down, nigger!"

. . . And really, if Bill Worthy's in jail, I'm a little ashamed to be outside. This is a man I respect a lot, a good honest reporter. But they won't give him a passport, won't let him out of the country.

Perhaps I might go into some length about one of the people I met, one of the most impressive people I have ever met . . . Tirso Saenz is head of Basic Industry. He is in charge of oil refining, copper mines, nickel mines and the like . . . He was a man who had been uninterested in politics. He was an engineer, a graduate of Rensselaer Polytech . . . He worked for Proctor and Gamble . . . when the shipments of alcohobenzene, which is the raw material for making detergents was embargoed, most of his friends left . . . "I was going to leave too . . . I didn't like communism or radical ideas and they'd been telling us all about these Communists. My boss told me I'd better get out and all the rest of my friends did. But, you know, I just like Cuba . . . So I stayed." . . .

First he was assistant in charge of the oil refineries for about a year; then he was promoted to Minister of Basic Industry. I talked a long time to him and asked him all my questions. I asked about mismanagement and he said, "Oh, you haven't heard anything yet. Let me tell you how we mismanage things . . . Sure we've got chaos in Cuba — I'm in charge of it."

But he did say that what they had really done was to keep the basic industries going . . . The oil refineries have never missed a beat, there has always been plenty of gasoline and it sells for 32c a gallon . . . The electric light and power plants have always been going except once or twice when counter-revolutionaries damaged them, you know, sabotaged them . . . The telephone system works.

When you lose all your replacement parts, when you lose all your technicians, when you're under pressure from the United States, when you're menaced by an invasion, to keep that going is — well — quite a job. And Tirso has been working 16 hours a day doing so.

I said, "What about privilege, now? You're really a power here." "Look," he said, "the only privilege I've got is working harder than anybody else." I looked around his house; and I have a nicer home than he does — and I'm only an assistant professor. He hasn't got a telephone. "We haven't got any new phones. We don't have the foreign exchange to buy them." And so, he doesn't have a telephone. He does have a 1951 Buick, an asthmatic old automobile, because he needs it to go to work . . .

# THE MILITANT

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Published weekly, except from July 11 to Sept. 5 when published bi-weekly, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y. Phone CH 3-2140. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 26 - No. 42



Monday, November 19, 1962

## HUAC Barks Up Wrong Tree

In a report released to the press Nov. 2 the House Un-American Activities Committee darkly announced that the Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party had "made common cause" in support of the Los Angeles Fair Play for Cuba Committee. To lend a cloak-and-dagger touch to its latest smear, the committee adds that members of the SWP were "the concealed masterminds" behind the group. The allegations follow closed hearings held by the House inquisitors in Los Angeles last April to which FPCC officers and others were subpoenaed.

Insofar as the Socialist Workers Party is concerned, if this charge of making "common cause" with the Communist Party in behalf of fair play for Cuba is intended as an effort to dictate what associations are on or off limits, the Congressmen are wasting their time. The SWP has long-standing, well-known political differences with the Communist Party. But the SWP also has an equally well-established record of readiness to work with any group, regardless of differences, in promoting progressive causes. It has consistently engaged in united action in a host of civil-rights and civil-liberties movements, on union picket lines and in the fight for peace.

On this basis, the SWP has joined forces with others of various views in spreading the truth about Cuba and in defending its heroic revolution against U.S. aggression.

The SWP has also consistently defended the Communist Party against the frame-up attacks under the Smith and McCarran laws. SWP National Secretary Farrell Dobbs publicly offered the use of the party's platform and meeting halls to Communist Party representatives in the fight against these measures.

Those efforts at united action in support of a common cause which HUAC would twist into a "conspiracy" flow from a principled policy openly proclaimed and publicly performed. And the SWP intends to continue functioning on this basis regardless of what a gang of anti-liberties Congressmen may say.

One group with which the SWP does not intend to associate or cooperate is HUAC itself. That committee is a mortal enemy of democratic and constitutional liberties. It seeks to smear, disrupt and divide every progressive movement.

The whole sickening record of HUAC's work demonstrates the need for such a stand. Timid and compliant officials in many organizations thought they could purchase immunity by carrying out purges of their membership under the committee's pressure. These moves have served only to throttle democracy, divide the ranks, and cripple the effectiveness of such organizations without in any way sating the committee's thirst for destruction.

The SWP has made clear that it will not propose or participate in any witch hunt. On the contrary, it will continue to stand in uncompromising defiance of HUAC's smear attacks and it urges every partisan of genuine democracy to join, regardless of other differences, in the nationwide movement to abolish this agency of reaction.

## ... 'Get Out of Guantanamo'

(Continued from Page 1)

would be unnecessary and our army redundant. We believe ourselves able to create peace."

The Kremlin's policy has been to create the impression that Kennedy's Oct. 27 statement that under certain conditions he would enter into an agreement "to remove promptly the quarantine measures now in effect and to give assurances against an invasion of Cuba," can be taken as an iron-clad promise. But Kennedy maintains that no commitment has yet been made, that it won't be made until all "weapons systems" he deems "offensive" are removed under UN inspection on a "continuation" basis.

Kennedy brushes aside Cuban demands that aggressive acts being committed against Cuba be halted. In addition, he extends his definition of "offensive weapons." Now this includes medium bombers with a turn-about range of 700 miles, the length of Cuba. At the same time administration officials reiterate the position that the revolution must be crushed, even if the administration should pledge no invasion now.

Under these conditions, for the Cubans to submit to UN inspection would not only be an abrogation of part of their sovereignty but would be militarily foolish.

Khrushchev's unilateral action

in accepting Kennedy's demand for UN inspection of Cuban defenses was made in the knowledge that the Cubans had already rejected that demand. On Oct. 23, before Kennedy and Khrushchev began exchanging letters, Fidel Castro made a speech saying:

"We refuse to give permission to anyone to examine, to investigate our country — no matter who it is. Cuba is not the Congo. Under the UN flag they went to the Congo and killed its leader and the spirit of independence of that people. Anyone who comes to inspect anything in Cuba had better come prepared for battle. We don't ask to investigate others' territory."

It is not the Cubans who are acting arrogantly in this situation. Their position has been consistent, strictly legal, reasonable and pointed toward a negotiated solution from the beginning and throughout. Kennedy, on the other hand, has violated international law, flaunted other nations' sovereignty, and based his demands, not on justice, law or negotiation, but on brute force.

Is it so "foolish" for a small country to stand on its sovereign rights in the face of such threats and such unilateral maneuverings? The Cubans don't think so, and neither should honest people throughout the world.

[The following is the opening section of a declaration on Cuba by the International Secretariat of the Fourth International. We print it for our readers' information since it represents the thinking of a wide sector of the world Trotskyist movement. The concluding half of the declaration, which space does not permit us to print, consists of appeals for action in behalf of Cuba addressed to the workers and peasants of specific continents and countries.]

A grave threat hangs over the Cuban Workers State. American imperialism, in mortal fear of the long term effects which the victory of the Cuban Revolution will have on the rest of its "empire" in Latin America, has sought for months for an excuse to unleash direct aggression against Cuba. It has taken as a pretext the presence in Cuba of rockets, which it pictures as "offensive," in order to set up a military blockade of the island.

No one can seriously believe that a country as tiny as Cuba could constitute a "military threat" to a power as mighty as the United States. Rockets, as Fidel Castro has pointed out, are "unoffensive" or "defensive," not according to their intrinsic nature but according to the social nature of the power which employs them and the aims which it pursues. The whole world knows that Yankee imperialism mounted a first invasion of Cuba only a year ago at Playa Girón which was defeated. The whole world knows that it has not ceased

since then to seek revenge. To defend itself against this threat, the government of socialist Cuba is completely justified in taking whatever measures it considers necessary.

### Soviet Unilateralism

The establishment of the Yankee blockade against Cuba brought humanity to the brink of a nuclear world war. In this situation, the Kremlin maneuvered to avoid a direct military collision and it cannot be criticized for this. But the Kremlin must be criticized for undertaking this maneuver without first securing a solid guarantee for the military security of the Cuban Workers State in the deadly peril it faces, and for making a unilateral agreement on UN inspection without the consent of the Cuban government. The Kremlin must be criticized for taking as serious Kennedy's "guaranty" to respect the independence of Cuba and his promise not to organize an invasion of the island. As always the Soviet bureaucracy is pursuing the chimera of a "global settlement" with Washington, thus lulling the vigilance of the masses of the world at the very moment when the danger facing Cuba is the greatest.

Kennedy's "guaranty" does not lift the threat facing the first workers state in the Western Hemisphere. The military build-up continues in Florida. New pretexts are being found for maintaining the blockade and increasing the military pressure. Concentrations of air and naval forces move in an open threatening way. In this si-

tuation, Fidel Castro is a thousand times right in stating the five conditions that must be met to validate the Kennedy-Khrushchev compromise, and in insisting particularly on the evacuation of the Guantanamo base and on the dismantlement of all the preparations to invade Cuba now being made in the United States and in Central America by the Yankees and counter-revolutionary Cubans. The Fourth International wholeheartedly approves this position of the revolutionary Cuban government and appeals to the workers of the entire world to support it.

### The Only Way

To compel the imperialist aggressors to retreat, to end the immediate threat hanging over socialist Cuba, something more is needed than moral indignation, verbal protests, recourse to the UN and appeals to the "conscience of the world." The only way to compel the American imperialists to back down is to prove to them through acts that any attack on Cuba will trigger the immediate, irresistible reply of millions of workers throughout the entire world. Washington hates the Cuban Revolution with the utmost ferocity. The only feeling stronger than this hate is fear that aggression against Cuba might provoke revolutions in Latin America, arouse the British and Japanese workers to bring down governments allied with the aggressors, and multiply throughout the world the heads of the "revolutionary Hydra" which they seek to cut off in Cuba.

## ...Real Issues Were Buried

(Continued from Page 1)

rejected Proposition 24, an "anti-Communist" measure so offensive that even the reactionary *Los Angeles Times* opposed it, and it had secured little support outside of the Birchite groups.

Taken as a whole, the "stand-off" results of the election revealed no clear mandate from the voters and no clear preference for one big-business party over the other. It is not that the American people do not have needs and interests to express. There simply are no means for expressing such a mandate within the frame work of the Republican-Democratic party system which dominates and channels American political life. Neither party, committed as both of them are to common basic policy and interests, can provide significant opposition to the other.

Some forces who oppose these bi-partisan policies, especially the drive toward war, will undoubtedly learn from this continuing experience. Former Rep. William Meyer of Vermont, who was dumped by the Democratic Party for his stand on peace, stated Oct. 26: "I can no longer believe that we can overcome the drift toward war by working solely within the two-party system. . . . One party drives the other to further extremes of madness to avoid the brand of appeaser or for political advantage in elections. In such an atmosphere we have witnessed the disintegration of the two-party system. Reason has fled and the Orwellian darkness has descended. . . . It is our responsibility to build whatever new political forces may be required."

Until the labor movement enters the political field in its own name, with its own labor party, the American people will continue to be bound in a political strait-jacket which permits no expression of a significant mandate in the election campaigns. It is on this basis that the Socialist Workers Party entered candidates in seven states, to campaign for independent working class politics and to provide for an expression of a socialist anti-war vote.

## General Tops Scoreboard For Socialist Education Fund

By Marvel Scholl  
Fund Drive Director

Just look at The General! And then get into this socialist competition. Most of the tremendous 66 per cent increase in The General's score this week came from an old Militant subscriber (he says he is far past the allotted three-score-and-ten). Since this friend wishes to remain anonymous, I take this opportunity to say a heartfelt thank you! The balance of The General's score came from Pittsburgh, and we say thank you to these friends too. We also have promises of \$20 each from two groups — one in Baltimore, the other in Bloomington, Ind.

I hope the fact that The General stands at 100 per cent won't stop other friends and readers from sending in their contributions. We need money right now more than we have ever needed it.

It is a fact that political opportunities are opening for the Socialist Workers Party in many spheres — faster, in fact than it can take advantage of them, from a financial point of view. Many people, especially among the

youth, have been rudely shaken out of complacency and a belief (or hope) that this capitalist America was the best of all possible places and that this continent would never have to face a nuclear war.

The Cuban crisis changed all that. People are asking questions, questions which must be answered with the truth. That means a publication and education program, it means keeping *The Militant* coming out regularly and at its present size — in spite of increased printing and postal costs.

### No Angels

The SWP is a working class organization, without a single "angel," completely dependent on the voluntary contributions of its members, friends and supporters. We ask you therefore to send your Truth Dollars to 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. Every one of them will make another chink in the thick wall within which the capitalist propaganda media have tried to encompass all of us for brainwashing.

## Fund Scoreboard

| City                               | Quota           | Paid           | Percentage |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|------------|
| <b>The General</b>                 | <b>\$ 300</b>   | <b>\$ 295</b>  | <b>100</b> |
| San Diego                          | 250             | 214            | 86         |
| San Francisco                      | 560             | 402            | 72         |
| Detroit                            | 625             | 408            | 65         |
| Chicago                            | 700             | 425            | 61         |
| St. Louis                          | 75              | 46             | 61         |
| Seattle                            | 475             | 259            | 55         |
| Milwaukee                          | 225             | 124            | 55         |
| Twin Cities                        | 850             | 455            | 54         |
| Oakland-Berkeley                   | 525             | 231            | 44         |
| Newark                             | 125             | 55             | 44         |
| Cleveland                          | 500             | 203            | 41         |
| New York                           | 4,300           | 1,658          | 39         |
| Philadelphia                       | 225             | 76             | 34         |
| Boston                             | 600             | 162            | 27         |
| Connecticut                        | 150             | 40             | 27         |
| Los Angeles                        | 4,300           | 1,150          | 27         |
| Allentown                          | 115             | 30             | 26         |
| Denver                             | 100             | 18             | 18         |
| <b>Totals through Nov 13, 1962</b> | <b>\$21,000</b> | <b>\$6,251</b> | <b>42%</b> |

# Uruguayan Takes Dim View of 'Alliance'

By Carol Weston

MONTEVIDEO, Uruguay — The following interview is with Señor Marcos Cannetti, an attorney, who is a member of the executive board of the Uruguayan political movement *Nuevas Bases* (New Foundations).

**Q. I've heard that Uruguay is a good example of Latin-American Democracy. What is your opinion on this matter?**

A. I believe that clearly, within Latin America, and taking into consideration the many dictatorships — some with an appearance of constitutionality — which have existed and which still exist in other countries, Uruguay continues to be an example of democracy in Latin America. This, of course, does not make us lose sight of the fact that this democracy has begun to crack under the impact of economic and political factors.

The stability of our institutions, which has been maintained for 50 years, has given our people faith in democratic norms. However, the last few governments have begun to depart from this traditional respect for democratic norms, thereby causing a certain loss of faith in democracy among the people.

The problem is that the existence of democratic freedoms and institutions is no longer enough if these are not accompanied by real

social justice. Theoretical democracy is useless for the people; democracy must be a living reality. The economic situation of our country has worsened noticeably in the last few years. As a result, the poor increase in numbers and the majority of the people have begun to lose faith in a regime which claims to protect their liberties but does not guarantee them ways of earning a living for themselves or their families.

**Q. I've learned from the newspapers that there are many strikes in Uruguay now.**

A. That's true. This has to do with what I was saying before about the economic conditions under which our people suffer. Uruguay is undergoing a serious economic crisis. Up to a few years ago, we were able to get along, thanks to World War II and the war in Korea, which increased the value of our exports. For many years it was said in Uruguay that we were living off other peoples' dead. But now the wars have ended and Uruguay is faced with its true economic condition.

It is basically an agricultural and cattle-raising nation. Our exports are made up from these two categories. At present, they have decreased noticeably. The lack of a world market has made the sale of our products difficult and, besides, prices have dropped. This has caused a great loss of foreign exchange. Imports, ever since the monetary and exchange reform, approved three years ago under the direction of the International Monetary Fund, have been made up principally of luxury items, such as automobiles and television

sets. This has caused a lack of raw materials for our industries. In addition, the policy of duty-free imports has brought about a ruinous competition for our national industries.

Our industries, lacking raw materials and producing goods at a higher cost than imported ones, have had to close down or try to reduce the cost of production. To achieve this, they have had to discharge workers and freeze wages; and the workers, in self-defense, have had to go on strike. Recently there have been numerous examples of strikes by the textile, metallurgical and construction workers who have been forced to use this weapon in defense of their wages.

**Q. Many foreigners have the habit of questioning taxi drivers to get information. But here in Uruguay taxi service is so expensive that I have made use of another source of information. This morning I was talking with a shoe shine boy and asked him about his business. He told me that it was terrible. What are the causes for these difficult times in Uruguay?**

A. The bootblack has given you the opinion prevalent among the working class. He is also suffering from the economic crisis through which our country is going. The reasons for this I have already explained and, as might be expected, that crisis is felt most by those on the lower rungs of the economic ladder.

**Q. There seems to be considerable fascist activity here. I have read that two bombs have exploded in book stores and I understand that recently a professor was killed by a similar bomb.**

A. That is so. For some time now several fascist organizations have been operating in our country. Using different names but pursuing the same ends, they devote themselves to attacking meeting places, offices and persons who hold independent opinions. Under the pretext of fighting communism, they have attacked the university, the student federation and the meeting places and offices of the left parties and they have killed more than one person.

Many are convinced that these fascist organizations are financed by interests tied to the oligarchies which control the nation's economy. It would not be too much to say that these interests are connected with that very American embassy from which place it is known that funds have come to help these organizations.

**Q. What is your opinion of the military in Uruguay compared with that of Argentina?**

A. Although I am against the military as a matter of principle, I believe that there are great differences between our military and Argentina's. In our country the army has not meddled in political matters. Traditionally it has kept itself aloof from them, maintaining a certain legalistic spirit. The only *coup d'état* carried out in Uruguay in the last 50 years was backed by and carried out by the police forces without intervention by the military — although the latter should be censured for not having complied with their duty of defending the legality of our institutions.

**Q. What are the sources of the anti-American sentiment which I have observed?**

A. I believe that basically it is of an economic nature. The large sums of American capital which have been invested in our country, have followed the same aim of exploitation to extract greater profits — even though this has been prejudicial to the interests of the poorer classes. The great American trusts have dominated the economic policy of Latin America. They have kept these countries in an underdeveloped state. The people suffer the consequences and they, as is to be expected, feel hostile towards those who are the cause of their poverty.

**Q. What is the attitude of the Uruguayan people towards the Alliance for Progress?**

A. The many years of exploitation by American economic imperialism makes them doubt — and rightfully so — the purposes and ends of this aid. They know from experience that if the dollars are given they will not go to improve their living conditions but rather to enrich a small oligarchy which controls the country's resources.

Besides, the people have no faith in the sincerity of this aid, because they have seen in the past that aid has been made dependent upon granting concessions in foreign-policy matters. On the Alliance for Progress, specifically, this was proposed at the second conference at Punta del Este in which Cuba's expulsion from the OAS [Organization of American States] was decreed — and one does not have to be too bright to see the connection between the two.

## 10 YEARS AGO

### IN THE MILITANT

"The N. Y. Post, the only big newspaper in New York City that campaigned for Stevenson, suggested Nov. 10 that Gen. Eisenhower 'pass up his trip to Korea.'"

"The Post editors explain that during the campaign they considered Eisenhower's promise about bringing an end to the war in Korea as 'just so much election oratory' . . . They want to 'let the man off the hook,' as they put it . . ."

"Like the Republicans, who promised peace in order to win the election, these Democrats understand that Capitalism must conquer the world if it is to avoid depression and gain a few more years lease on life . . . The Post's generous proposal is an olive branch to the Republicans offering resumption of the bi-partisan foreign policy that led up to Korea and that was maintained up to the time of the election campaign." — Nov. 17, 1952.

## 20 YEARS AGO

"The Post Office authorities have refused to permit the Nov. 7 and 14 issues of *The Militant* to go through the mails."

"They made this arbitrary decision without any notice or explanation of their action to *The Militant* office . . . Only after our direct inquiry were we informed that the paper had been withheld from the mails. Even then we were given no official reason, but were told that we must apply to the Washington authorities for an explanation."

"Whatever technicalities or alibis the authorities may offer, it is clear that the suppression of these two issues of *The Militant* is a direct attack by the Roosevelt government on the democratic right of a working class newspaper to write and criticize from a working class viewpoint . . ."

"This is not a private quarrel between the *The Militant* and the government. It is only the first measure of suppression of the rights of free press guaranteed in the Bill of Rights and proclaimed by Roosevelt as his aim in this war. If they can get away with this attack on *The Militant*, no labor paper will be safe to utter the slightest criticism or stand up for its democratic rights." — Nov. 21, 1942.

# Letters From Our Readers

## "Too Young to Die!"

Lynwood, Calif.

I think my subscription is soon to expire and I hope to be able to renew for a full year. I don't want to miss any of your reporting on Cuba in your new 8-pager.

We have a radio program locally *Opinion Please* where people can call in and express their ideas on current topics. On the Monday eve of Kennedy's embargo speech, a boy called into this program and said he was 14 years old and his brother was four and that they were too young to die! Other small children were sick at their stomach and had to be sent home from school.

People were buying all the groceries on the shelves and drawing their money out of the bank in hundred-dollar bills. (Capitalists, I guess.) The day following the run on groceries and money, people were buying guns to protect themselves from their neighbors!

It didn't take a strong man to do what Kennedy did, but it would have taken a strong man not to yield to the pressures.

F.S.

## From Cuba

Havana, Cuba

Everybody's been very calm here and on the northeast coast of Las Villas where I happened to be when we expected the invasion to come. We called the director of our institute and he said, "go on with your work," which of course we wanted to do, but because most of us are in the militia we had to find out.

I listen every once in a while to the Voice of America Spanish-language program, *Date With Cuba*. They hardly even try to give any facts, just quote articles about Russia in 1930 and say that Cuba is just like that. When they do have "news" of here it is the same old stuff about how everyone's starving and Vilma Espin has a maid, etc. They certainly

know through their agents here that we aren't starving and that we aren't living just on rice and beans. We have enough fish to eat, that's for sure. I'm starting to grow fins.

In our local unions we're discussing the projected new social security law, work norms, etc. The social security assembly was wonderful. We offered many positive amendments, and from what I hear from people in other unions, and from the papers, they are proposing the same kind of revisions we are. These recommendations are sent to the board elected by the 25 national unions. This board has the decisive vote as we can assume that the council of ministers will pass the proposed law in the form that it comes from the unions.

The discussion on the projected law is the most fantastic thing I've ever seen — discussions in busses, cafes, bars, department-store underwear counters, guard posts, etc. And do you know that one million Cuban adults are in some kind of study? All learning the art, very Cuban, of speech-making, unfortunately. Even I am capable of boring people massively and in public.

Joseph Hansen's articles on Algeria are great. And the "national picketline" column is the first thing I read, even before the Cuba articles.

## Repatriate

## From New Zealand

New York, N.Y.

The following letter, dated Oct. 30, from a friend in Wellington, New Zealand, may prove of interest to your readers:

"Even here people have been stunned by Kennedy's provocations."

"On Sunday we met at a friend's house and fired off salvos of protest. We went as a group to the U.S. Embassy here and were received by the Ambassador's butler — the Ambassador him-

self was 'out of town.' After a few minutes two American Embassy guards appeared and accepted our protest petition."

"We feel that the present position is just a lull in the struggle and the storm may break in the near future."

"I was very glad to receive the copy of *The Militant* you forwarded to me. It is wonderful to see some rational voice coming out of North America."

"Although the conciliatory approach of USSR and Fidel was, of course, the best thing to lessen tension, I'm afraid the Let's-Get-Tough school of thought will be emboldened to launch out upon new adventures."

"Our protest petition was broadcast over the radio and heard by an estimated million people."

R.P.

## News About Cuba

Cleveland, Ohio

During the threatened invasion of Cuba in the last week of October the Cuban people really showed the type of metal they are made of.

Thousands of women and children took the men's places on the production lines and on the farms while the men marched off to take their places behind the guns to face the expected invasion.

Production in some of the factories actually increased during the invasion threat, especially in the textile industry and the manufacture of cigars and cigarette. Many women and children volunteered to work extra hours. Some mothers kept their children

in cribs beside them while they worked.

Not one single arrest was made during this week of crisis and there was no major disturbance of any kind. Men that were not in the militia before came forward to help the revolutionary government in any way they could.

A special request was broadcast for blood donors and the doctors and nurses were so rushed they found it difficult to handle all the people and had to work into the late night hours.

A Rebel Army veteran that had fought in the early days in the Sierra Maestra and had the misfortune of losing a leg in the Bay of Pigs invasion begged to drive a tank even though he had no tank experience. He was turned down but later a special order was issued by Chief of Staff Almeida and needless to say he became a tank driver. With a few lessons he managed to do very well. He actually cried when he took his seat in the tank the first time.

The Cuban people are a great people and they should never be defeated no matter what the odds. If the Cuban Revolution is destroyed there is no justice left in the world.

G.C.

## Castro Speech

New York, N.Y.

I.F. Stone's *Weekly* gives a digest of Fidel Castro's Nov. 1 speech and comments that "The best source of information about Cuba lies in Castro's speeches." I agree and think *The Militant* performed a valuable service in publishing the complete text of the speech.

H.C.

## Thought for the Week

"When I visited the United States last spring I was told Colombia would be a showcase for the Alliance for Progress. The showcase is ready and waiting but there is very little to put into it. Hungry people are expectant and waiting. It would be very dangerous to keep them waiting too long." — President Guillermo Valencia as quoted in the Nov. 12 *National Observer*.

# The Case of the First 18 Smith-Act Victims

[The following is a condensation of the chapter on the historic Minneapolis Labor Case of 1941 from Art Preis' full-scale history of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), *Labor's Giant Step*. This book is scheduled for publication in the latter part of 1963.]

By Art Preis

A major civil-liberties struggle involved the CIO in 1941 when it received into membership a local of some 5,000 Minneapolis truck-drivers who were defending their union democracy against the gangster-ridden Tobin machine of the AFL Teamsters.

On Dec. 8, 1941, the day after Pearl Harbor and at the very moment Congress was formally declaring war, a group of 17 men and one woman faced a federal district judge in a Minneapolis court room. They were members and leaders of Minneapolis Truck-drivers Local 544-CIO (formerly AFL) and of the Socialist Workers Party. They heard the judge pronounce sentence of federal imprisonment upon them for their outspoken socialist opposition to imperialist war. They had been tried, convicted and sentenced under the Smith "Gag" Act of 1940, which President Franklin D. Roosevelt had signed into law over the protest of both AFL and CIO leaders as well as every civil-liberties organization in the country.

## Roosevelt's War Aims

Millions of America's industrial workers had been through a veritable civil war during the previous five years to win even the most elementary rights and improvements. They were gravely suspicious of Roosevelt's war aims. Above all, they had the feeling that the war would benefit only the big capitalists, the war profiteers. This view had been stated most outspokenly inside the union movement by the leaders of Minneapolis Drivers Local 544-AFL, whose series of victorious strikes in 1934 and subsequent struggles had opened the way to unionization of the entire Northwest.

While continuously building up his war preparations, from passage of the conscription act to the abandonment of the neutrality act and the initiation of secret submarine warfare, Roosevelt had to maintain the pretense that he would not take this country into war. On the eve of his crucial third-term election, in his radio speech of Oct. 30, 1940, Roosevelt had promised:

"And while I am talking to you, fathers and mothers, I give you once more assurance. I have said this before, but I shall say it again, and again, and again: Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars."

## The Election Promise

This promise was intended to lull the growing suspicions and even hostility of the workers, whose patience with the Roosevelt administration had worn thin. For one thing, the depression had continued to grind on. The National Industrial Conference Board had estimated unemployment in January 1940 at ten million. In his message to Congress on Jan. 3, 1940, Roosevelt had conceded that "we have not yet found a way to employ the surplus of our labor."

The CIO resolutions and literature of the period give a reflection of the mood of the American workers. Commenting on Roosevelt's 1940 Congressional message, the Jan. 8, 1940, *CIO News* bitterly attacked Roosevelt's "proposal to put through deep slashes in relief, public works and social services and agencies, while adding huge sums to arms expenditures . . . The cheers which rang from the tory benches of Congress when President Roosevelt promised to slash appropriations for unemployment relief and all other than war purposes, will have a



James P. Cannon

bitter echo in millions of Americans' homes . . ."

This mass mood well indicates why Roosevelt had to seek re-election by promising not to take this country into any "foreign wars." He also had to silence every conscious expression of opposition to imperialist war inside the labor movement. First and foremost was the leadership of Minneapolis General Drivers Local 544-AFL.

From 1933 through 1940, the militant leadership and policies of Local 544 had worked a transformation of the whole labor movement in the Northwest. Average weekly wages for truck drivers in Minneapolis rose from \$11 for a 60-hour week in 1933 to over \$33 a week for 44 hours in 1940. They had won conditions that were the envy of workers everywhere at that time, including paid annual vacations, seniority and many other benefits.

## Daniel J. Tobin

But from the start of their struggles, the Minneapolis drivers found their most bitter enemy inside their own international union, the AFL International Brotherhood of Teamsters, headed by Daniel J. Tobin. Tobin was a simon-pure representative of business unionism, the labor philosophy of most of the AFL leadership typified most strikingly in the recent period by elements like David Beck, Tobin's successor who was convicted for misappropriation of property from the union he inherited from Tobin. Tobin, of course, was never charged with or convicted of direct stealing. But the organization of workers was to him primarily a business designed to serve his personal interests and those of the bureaucrats on his payroll. Thus, from the start, he joined with the Minneapolis employers in fighting Local 544 and its leadership.

After repeated attempts to smash Local 544, including the withdrawal of its charter for a period and the attempt to form a new local under his own domination, Tobin had to combine his "dual" local with Local 544 under a new charter, with the Local 544 leadership retained.

## Over-the-Road

Local 544 then spearheaded a tremendous expansion of unionism throughout a great open-shop area. In August 1938, this organizing drive was climaxed by the winning of the first over-the-road drivers contract. This gained union wages and conditions, including the closed shop, for some 200,000 drivers in an 11-state area ranging from Montana to Ohio and Minnesota to Oklahoma. Farrell Dobbs, former Local 544 secretary-treasurer, was the first secretary of the North Central Area Negotiating Committee which won the contract.

Tobin had fought this organizing drive bitterly and had demanded its discontinuance. But he couldn't resist the vision of all that per capita rolling in after the contract brought 200,000 new members — more than the entire 135,000 membership of the IBT in 1935. Tobin thrust his fears of

streamlined, aggressive unionism momentarily into the background. He even appointed Dobbs, at this writing the National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, as IBT International Organizer in charge of the over-the-road field.

In the spring of 1941, Tobin ordered the Local 544 leaders to recommend to the local union's executive board that they ask Tobin to send in an outside "receiver" with dictatorial powers to run the union and to remove any officer or member. The local's leaders replied they had no power to give away the democratic right of the membership to control the affairs of their own union and to elect their own officers.

## CIO Charter

When it was learned that Tobin was secretly attempting to sign "sweetheart" contracts with employers under contract with Local 544, the Local 544 leaders and members determined to break from Tobin's grip and seek a charter from the CIO. On June 9, 1941, at a general membership meeting, with more than 4,000 of the 5,000 Local 544 members present, the local voted overwhelmingly to accept a charter from the CIO as Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union, Local 544-CIO. At this meeting, Farrell Dobbs, who had long since quit his IBT post, was a guest speaker.

This was the background of the internal union situation into which Roosevelt was to intrude — as an ally of Tobin. On June 13, four days after Local 544 voted for CIO affiliation, the President's secretary Stephen Early issued the following special White House press statement on the internal union struggle in Minneapolis:

"Mr. Tobin telegraphed from Indianapolis that it is apparent to him and to the other executives of his organization that because they have been and will continue to stand behind the government, that all subversive organizations and all enemies of our government, including Bundists, Trotskyists and Stalinists, are opposed to him and seeking to destroy loyal trade unions which are supporting democracy."

## Roosevelt and Tobin

"Mr. Tobin goes into considerable detail and states he is going to issue a statement from the Indianapolis office of the teamsters' union. When I advised the President of Tobin's representations this morning he asked me immediately to have the government departments and agencies interested in this matter notified and to point out to you that this is no time, in his opinion, for labor unions, local or national, to begin raiding one another for the purpose of getting membership or for similar reasons." (*New York Times*, June 14, 1941.)

This intervention by Roosevelt was unprecedented. It was all the more brazen because it was well known that Tobin was chairman of the Democratic Party's National Labor Committee and Roosevelt's response to Tobin's appeal could be regarded only as payment for political favors received.

On June 30, Roosevelt acted. Squads of U.S. marshals and FBI agents invaded the St. Paul and Minneapolis headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party. They confiscated quantities of *The Militant* and other publications on sale and numerous books, including Marxist classics by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

The next day a federal jury composed of rural residents from outside Minneapolis moved to indict 29 persons, all but three of them members or former members of Minneapolis unions, for "seditious conspiracy." The American Civil Liberties Union promptly protested to Acting Attorney General Francis J. Biddle that the indictments were "obviously dangerous to the preservation of democracy." The CIO had issued

a statement on June 28, declaring the attack on Local 544 and the SWP "nothing but a smear campaign against the CIO." It added:

"Unable to bend the workers to his will by the other vicious tactics which he has employed, Dan Tobin has persuaded Roosevelt to carry out this action in payment of his political debt to Tobin . . . It is deplorable that the functions of the U.S. Department of Justice have been perverted in this reprehensible manner."

On July 1, the very day the Department of Justice took its demand for indictments to the grand jury, a mass meeting was held in the Lyceum theater in Minneapolis to welcome Local 544 into the CIO. More than 200 telegraphed greetings from CIO bodies all over the United States were read to the meeting. CIO President Philip Murray and John L. Lewis, the CIO's founding president, sent warm messages. Lee Pressman, National Legal Counsel for the CIO and personal representative of Murray, was the main speaker.

## The Dunne Brothers

One CIO spokesman, Cecil Owens from Washington, told the meeting: "Your coming over to the CIO created a sensation in Washington. For a few days it appeared that the national administration had dropped its campaign of 'Aid to England' for a campaign of 'Aid to Dan Tobin.'"

Acting on the demands of the Roosevelt administration, the hand-picked grand jury indicted 29 persons, including the leaders of Local 544, the three Dunne brothers (Vincent, Miles and Grant), former Local 544 President Carl Skoglund, the local's Secretary-Treasurer Kelly Postal and Farrell Dobbs, as well as James P. Cannon, founder and at this writing National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, Albert Goldman, then Attorney for the SWP, and Felix Morrow, then editor of *The Militant*. Grant Dunne died before the trial, but the other 28 stood trial.

The Minneapolis Labor Trial, as it became known, began on Oct. 27 in Minneapolis before Federal District Judge M. M. Joyce. The 28 defendants were tried under two laws. Count one of the indictment was based on an 1861 statute passed during the Civil War against the Southern slaveholders, then in actual armed rebellion. This count charged a "conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence."

## The Smith Act Charge

Count two charged the publication and circulation of literature, the establishment of an organization and membership therein "to teach, advocate and encourage" the "overthrow of the government by force and violence." This count was based wholly on the Smith Act of 1940 which had never before been used. It was, in fact, the first federal law since the infamous and quickly-repealed Alien and Sedition Act of 1798 to make mere advocacy of views a "crime."

The government's case was based first of all upon quotations torn out of context from publications of the SWP and its predecessor groups going back to 1928 and from Marxist classics going back to 1848 — all publicly sold and available in most libraries. The prosecution also put 37 witnesses on the stand. They testified that various defendants allegedly had told them privately about their political views. According to these witnesses, the defendants were particularly voluble about the use of "force and violence."

Of the 37 government witnesses, 22 were on Tobin's payroll or known supporters of his machine; two were FBI agents who had been planted in Local 544; one was an agent of the Associated Industries, Minnesota employers' organization. The other 12 were of



Farrell Dobbs

only minor significance and gave no important testimony.

A sample of the government's evidence was the testimony of John Novack, one of Tobin's "organizers" who had been sent into Minneapolis by the hundreds to "persuade" Local 544 members to stay with Tobin's outfit if they wanted to continue enjoying life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Novack identified himself as a member of "the squad" — not "goon," just "the squad." Under considerable prompting by the government attorney, Novack testified about "a man named Rube" who was "helping organize the youth section of 544." This "Rube" confided in Novack the following words:

## The Conviction

"You would be surprised how well we are fixed. We have guns and ammunition planted in the walls of churches. We have bullets that will go through an inch and a half or two inches of armor plate, which is better than the United States Army can do."

On Dec. 1, 1941, the jury brought in its decision. On the "seditious conspiracy" count under the old Civil War law, all defendants were acquitted. Under the new Smith Act, which many liberals at the time thought would unquestionably be thrown out when the case would be appealed to the higher courts, 18 defendants were convicted. These included Cannon, Vincent Dunne, Skoglund, Dobbs, Goldman and Morrow.

During a two-year appeals fight, directed by the Civil Rights Defense Committee, an organization of prominent liberals and labor figures, with George Novack (no relative of John Novack) as secretary, more than 600 labor, Negro and civil-liberties organizations backed the 18 Minneapolis Case victims. These organizations included the national CIO, the United Automobile Workers, the United Rubber Workers, the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers and others, representing in all more than five million members.

The case involved the most basic constitutional rights — free speech, free press, freedom of assembly. But the U.S. Supreme Court, a majority of its members Roosevelt appointees, three times refused even to review the case. On the evening of Dec. 31, 1943, the convicted people went to federal prisons for term ranging from a year and a day to 16 months, with time off for good behavior.

In the course of the war, with its leaders imprisoned and with Tobin's goons and the government bringing every pressure to bear on the Minneapolis drivers, Local 544-CIO was finally crushed. But its record and tradition remain as an example for the new generation of unionists, who will certainly face a new crisis of American capitalism in this epoch of economic instability and wars.

# Race Prejudice and Three-Year-Old Donna

By George Breitman

DETROIT, Oct. 9 — The Donna Potter custody case, now being heard in circuit court here, has aroused a great deal of interest and discussion. Not as much as the current World Series, perhaps, but still a lot.

This writer has heard it discussed on the bus several times, on an elevator, on the street and at work. I tried to attend the hearings in court, but couldn't. The main facts reported in the local papers are these:

## The Facts

Donna Potter is three years old. Her mother, 24, is a former nurse, whose maiden name was Sandra Macek. In 1958 she married Donald Potter, a schoolteacher, now 26.

In 1960, when Donna was a year old, Mrs. Potter sued for divorce. In July, 1961, Circuit Judge George E. Bowles granted her the divorce and, as is customary in such cases, gave custody of the child to the mother.

Nine days later, Mrs. Potter moved with Donna to Riverside, Calif., where she married a surgeon whom she had known in Detroit, Dr. Percy D. Baugh. They had a child last April.

Bowles' order had directed Mrs. Potter to keep Donna in Michigan. Mrs. Potter said later her lawyer had told her she could leave the state anyway. Early this year Bowles rescinded the original decree and gave the divorce to Potter along with custody of Donna.

When his former wife, then about to have her second child, failed to return to Michigan, Potter on his own went to California last May, seized Donna off the street and brought her back to Detroit. For a while he kept Donna with his own mother, but at present he and Donna are living with Sandra's mother, Mrs. Veronica Macek, who quit her job in order to take care of the child.

The current hearing before Judge Bowles results from a suit by Donna's mother, Mrs. Baugh, to recover custody.

Cases like this occur all the time, with little notice by anyone but the people directly involved. This one is different because the man Mrs. Potter married, Dr. Baugh, is a Negro.

This was raised in the following form by Potter's brief in the present suit:

"My ex-wife and daughter are of the white race, while her husband is a Negro. It is my firm opinion that my daughter will suffer, if forced by court order to be brought up in a bi-racial household. She will not grow up and mature as a normal white child should, but rather will be rejected, shunned and avoided by children of both races and as a result her entire life could, and unavoidably, would be adversely affected." He denies that he is prejudiced against Negroes.

Social workers here and in California state that both homes are "suitable" for Donna.

Riverside, Calif., is said to be "an integrated community," with mixed marriages involving Japanese, Chinese, Mexicans, Negroes and whites.

Mrs. Macek's home is in a lily-white neighborhood. She testified that Dr. Baugh's name is never mentioned in her home. "I don't like my daughter to be married to a Negro," she told the court. "I don't think it is the thing to do. Our society, our group of people don't do that." She also said that she is not prejudiced.

After testimony by Potter, Mrs. Macek, Dr. and Mrs. Baugh and others, and after lawyers for both sides had concluded, Judge Bowles today said he would make his ruling in two days. He also said:

"You heard both attorneys urge that I be 'color blind' in this case. But even as they urged it, both men kept hammering away on the racial complications. Let's face it: Race here is not secondary, it's the crux of the matter."

"There's the legal presumption — backed by many precedents — that a child under 12 is better off with its mother. This will be for me to decide in the light of this particular case, however."

## Reflections

Oct. 10 — Yes, race is the crux of the matter. If it wasn't, Mrs. Baugh already would have won custody as a matter of course.

Race is an obsession in the South, but not only there. Detroit may be the most race-conscious big city in the North, but it's not the only one in the North where you can't be sure in advance how

a judge will rule in such a case.

Race is becoming more and more of an obsession with white people in the North too. Negroes have won some important gains in recent years, but simultaneously, I believe, race prejudice has grown stronger and worse among most whites.

Negroes now live in many sections of Detroit previously barred to them. But just last month a study by Wayne State University professors revealed that Detroit segregation in 1960 was greater than in 1930. The ghetto is bigger, that's all.

## Prejudice at Root

The rapid growth of the suburbs since World War II, which has produced innumerable changes in American customs, patterns and politics, can be traced to many causes. But the main cause is race prejudice and the desire of whites to get themselves and their children away from Negroes. Anyone who doesn't see this, or how big a factor race has become in all of American life, must be stone-blind.

The Donna Potter case interests me for more than sociological reasons, however. Somehow it moves me personally. I hope I will be excused if I offer some personal reflections while waiting for the judge's decision.

Potter claims that Donna, if living in a bi-racial household, will be "rejected, shunned and avoided by children of both races." Maybe, maybe not. A block or two from where I live, I can see white and Negro children playing together amicably, or as amicably as the children of a single race play.

When I go to work, I see junior high school students of both races sitting and laughing together on the bus. Prejudice hasn't victimized them completely, and maybe some of them will be able to escape its worst effects altogether. But even if Potter's claim were true, will Donna be better off, will she grow up as a better human being if she is raised in a home where her mother's husband's name is never spoken and in a neighborhood where racial bigotry is so rampant that Dr. and Mrs. Baugh could not purchase a home there without taking the chance of being mobbed and stoned?

I say Donna would be a thousand times better off running the risks that Potter exaggerates than being compelled to grow up in an environment where she will be brainwashed to believe that a darker skin denotes "inferiority" and is at all costs to be shunned in ignorance and fear.

Potter says that in a bi-racial household Donna "will not grow up and mature as a normal white child should." That's true — if you agree that the "normal white child" is indoctrinated with vile white-supremacist notions from the time that it learns to understand what its parents are saying and doing. What could be better for the development of any child than escaping such "normality"?

I have no children, and know little about child-rearing theories or methods. But I find myself recalling my own childhood as I think about Donna's case.

My family was poor, and I lived in a poor working class neighborhood until I was of voting age. The schools were crowded, the streets were our playgrounds, and many us became truants, delinquents or worse.

But I had one advantage — it was a mixed neighborhood. I deem this advantage so highly, as I look back on it, that I would not trade places with any Kennedy or Rockefeller if I had a chance to do it over again.

If I am more-than-averagely objective, as I think I am; if I am better able than most to get along and work with all kinds of people, as friends in their kinder moments assert, then I attribute these desirable traits above all to the lucky accident that I grew up in a mixed neighborhood, and was in high school before I became aware of racial stigmas (when a white boy taunted me for living among Negroes).

I call it an accident because it was not planned that way. My parents were not different from most whites; they lived where they did because of poverty, not because of social theories.

Such accidents are rarer today than in my childhood. I have always preferred to live in mixed working-class areas, but they seem harder to find nowadays. My present neighborhood was still mixed five years ago, but almost all of the white occupants have moved out since. Most of the remaining mixed areas now are middle-class in character, rather than working-class, and they seem to be "controlled" (that is, Negroes are kept to a certain percentage) rather than "natural."

## Hurts Whites Also

I don't know what my testimony would be worth in court; since I can't claim to be an "expert" and have no Ph. D., the judge probably wouldn't let me give it. But I wish I could go there and explain that the worst thing you can do to a child is stunt its mind and warp its emotions during its formative years — and that nothing

will accomplish this more surely than to subject it to an environment founded on bigotry. If I could speak there, I would stress how race prejudice injures not only Negroes, but whites too.

I can't tell if Donna Potter would grow up happily and harmoniously in Riverside; there are too many factors there I don't know about, and even so-called "integrated communities" cannot escape the pressures and poisons of society as a whole.

But one thing I am sure of: If Judge Bowles' main consideration is "the welfare of the child," as it is supposed to be in such cases, he will not condemn Donna to racist disfigurement as a human being by making her live with a prejudiced family in lily-white northwestern Detroit.

## The Verdict

Oct. 11 — Judge Bowles today ruled that Donna Potter should remain with her father and maternal grandparents in Detroit, and that she can spend six weeks each year with the Baughs in California if they pay for her transportation.

Mrs. Baugh's attorney, George W. Crockett, Jr., declared: "This decision was based solely on the question of race. I shall appeal it immediately to the Michigan Supreme Court on these grounds."

Bowles said in his ruling that, "given an ideal home life with stable and well-adjusted interracial parents," Donna could live happily until the age of six. After that, "none of us can anticipate what problems, if any, would develop as the child... becomes older and aware of the opposite sex."

## Claims Race Not Issue

Although Bowles had held two days ago that race was "the crux of the matter," today he ruled that "The interracial marriage of Sandra with Dr. Baugh is not decisive. While her interracial marriage does not disqualify Sandra from custody it does not mean that she should have custody."

Instead, he cited Mrs. Baugh's first marriage, birth of Donna, divorce, remarriage and birth of a second child within three years as evidence of a lack of "stability" and as "a picture of a young woman who has been in serious rebellion."

Bowles also advised Dr. and Mrs. Baugh, Potter and Mrs. Macek to undergo "psychiatric analysis" so that they will "understand themselves and their motivations better." This unusual advice included all the principal adults in the case, except, for some reason, himself.



"Please increase my weekly bundle of Militants to 70. By the way, the article in the 'Militant Army' section this last time erred. As yet there is no 'young group' here — just me and a friend. If I could ever get half a dozen people here, I could handle a thousand Militants per week." That was in a letter received this week from a brace of young people in Madison, Wis., and we take great pleasure in printing their correction. We certainly hope the cities which have a "group" will get their message.

In today's world of spoon-fed, hand-picked news, *The Militant* stands by itself as a serious, socialist newspaper. For example, it is the only paper in the whole country which printed Fidel Castro's full answer to Kennedy's arrogant, warlike action. *The Militant* is foremost in its determination to bring the American people the truth about Cuba.

Those cities which have a serious attitude towards *The Militant* and towards this subscription campaign can be found in the lead on our scoreboard. Since we have not received notices to cut the quotas of the other cities, which

are lagging behind, we can only assume that they too take *The Militant*, and what it stands for, seriously. We hope they intend to fulfill their quotas. If that is the case, it will mean full mobilization of all their forces in these last two weeks of the sub drive.

| AREA               | Quota | Subs | Per cent |
|--------------------|-------|------|----------|
| Indiana            | 10    | 27   | 270      |
| Detroit            | 100   | 125  | 125      |
| Baltimore          | 10    | 11   | 110      |
| Connecticut        | 30    | 29   | 97       |
| Boston             | 25    | 21   | 84       |
| Oakland - Berkeley | 75    | 57   | 76       |
| Newark             | 15    | 10   | 67       |
| Milwaukee          | 25    | 16   | 64       |
| New York           | 150   | 93   | 62       |
| San Diego          | 30    | 18   | 60       |
| Twin Cities        | 100   | 60   | 60       |
| Philadelphia       | 75    | 29   | 39       |
| Chicago            | 90    | 33   | 37       |
| San Francisco      | 75    | 24   | 32       |
| St. Louis          | 10    | 3    | 30       |
| Akron - Cleveland  | 75    | 16   | 21       |
| Seattle            | 75    | 15   | 20       |
| Los Angeles        | 150   | 28   | 19       |
| Denver             | 50    | 2    | 4        |
| General            | 30    | 43   | 140      |

Total thru Nov. 13 1,200 660 55%

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Come Again?** — Harold Watkinson, former British Minister of Defense, speaking at Walton-on-Thames Oct. 26 on the danger of Kennedy's attack on Cuba touching off a thermonuclear war, suggested that the situation cannot be considered completely hopeless while Macmillan remains at the helm of the British government. "If we survive," said Watkinson, "then I am sure that the Prime Minister will seek once again to give a lead to try to negotiate a more stable and a more peaceful situation."

**Corrupting Convicts** — The warden and two turnkeys at the Northumberland county, Pa., prison, were charged Nov. 5 with using convicts to work in the county Republican headquarters. The complaint was filed by the local Democratic chairman. There is no confirmation of the rumor that the Democrats had demanded equal time.

**Our Man in Guantanamo** — "UNITED STATES NAVAL BASE, Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, Nov. 12 (Reuters) — The com-

mander of the United States Marine reinforcements flown in here at the start of the crisis over Cuba told today how he had investigated 'mysterious' Cuban signal lights that appeared to be a code for someone on the base. Brig. Gen. W. R. Collins said at a news conference that he had investigated the 'mysterious signalling' of red, green and yellow lights from the Cuban town of Caimanera a quarter of a mile from the base. After hours of baffling study the general's decoding experts discovered that the 'signals' were from a traffic light in the town."

**Some of His Best Friends** . . . In his election-eve TV reply to charges that he is anti-Negro, anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic, Richard Nixon declared: "In my years in Washington, Cardinal Spellman, Jackie Robinson and Gen. David Sarnoff were among my closest friends."

**Definition** — Chief Justice Earl Warren has suggested the development of a profession of "counselors of ethics" to advise politicians,

businessmen, etc. For the guidance of such counselors, we offer the old wheeze about the boy who asked his father for a definition of ethics. The father, half owner of a shoe store, gave an example: "A man gives me \$20 for a \$10 pair of shoes and forgets the change. This poses for me a problem of ethics. That is, should I tell my partner?"

**The Public Pulse** — Kennedy's stand in the Cuban crisis has bolstered Latin American confidence in the Alliance for Progress, claims Alliance co-ordinator Teodoro Moscoso. He arrived at this conclusion, the UPI reports, "after quietly canvassing a group of prominent Mexican and foreign investment bankers vacationing in Acapulco, Mexico."

**The Ultimate** — "Automation represents the quintessence of capitalism, the ultimate in the investment of money to get the biggest product out of human effort." — The November *Monthly Economic Letter* of the First National City Bank of New York.

## Behind Our Teenage Delinquency

By Joyce Cowley

"DELINQUENCY BRED IN LUSH SOCIETY" — When I saw this headline on the report of a panel discussion sponsored by the San Francisco Council for Youth, I wasn't sure if it referred to vegetation in our society, or the drunks.

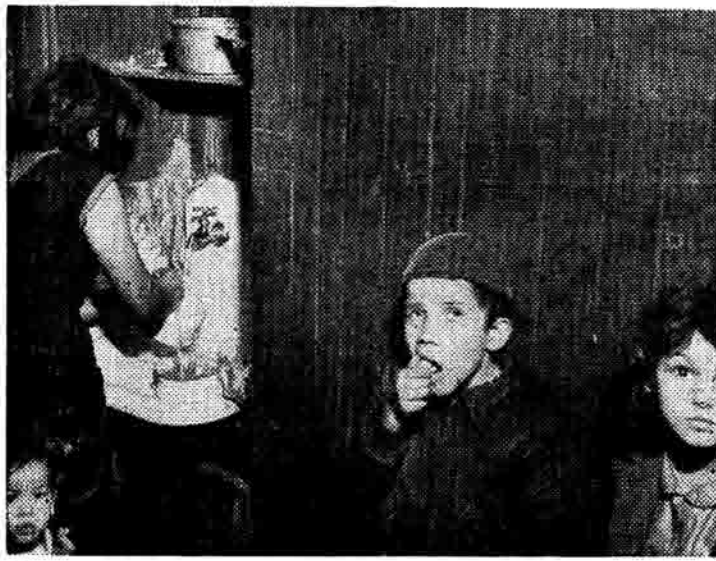
Joseph R. Rowan, regional consultant for the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, clarified it by saying that the cause of delinquency is our "affluent, auto-happy American way of life" — a statement which I am sure he neglected to clear with Detroit manufacturers. The problem will be solved, he claims, "if the values of parents and their children veer from materialism to spiritual and moral levels."

He pointed out that the same problem exists in prosperous West Berlin, while there is much less delinquency in East Berlin. Does this mean that East Berlin has "veered toward spiritual and moral levels?" If you are getting confused, it is not my fault.

As usual, home and church are considered the cure-all. A second panel member, Juvenile Court Judge Melvin I. Cronin, endorsed Mr. Rowan's views. "In the home that is secure in the human relationships, one with another," he said, "very seldom does a juvenile problem emerge."

I don't know the meaning of "secure in the human relationships, one with another", if it has any, but home and church have not been doing a very good job if you judge by the statistics on juvenile crime, which rise sharply each year. In fact, many young murderers, rapists, thieves and miscellaneous law-breakers are religious boys from good homes. A census of jail inmates revealed that 72 per cent are church members as against roughly 50 per cent of the population as a whole.

A clue to the real cause and cure of delinquency was inadvertently



**PUERTO RICANS IN N.Y.** are packed by landlords into rat-infested apartments like this at exorbitant rents. Crowded living conditions are a major factor contributing to delinquency among youth.

tently included in the remarks of San Francisco Police Chief Thomas J. Cahill, another speaker on the panel. He mentioned frequent instances of "peculiar" juvenile crimes like vandalism. "There is an unexplainable desire to hurt society in some way," he complained.

The puzzled chief apparently did not ask any teenagers what they've got against society. They might have answered that they are troubled by lack of security, i.e., at any moment the world may go up in flames. While youth of all classes are affected by the threat of nuclear war, most of the social problems which create hostility bear most heavily upon those in the so-called "under-privileged" or "culturally disadvantaged" areas of our metropolitan centers. (Authorities on juvenile problems have thought up a number of new ways to say slum.)

Minority youth are the most direct victims of crowded housing, inferior schools and lack of recreational facilities. Without job skills and with only the non-education available in our ghettos, they find "limited opportunities" — like jobs as bus boy, porter or dishwasher. It takes a sociologist to figure out that dishwashing is an opportunity.

For a Puerto Rican youth in New York City, the home which is supposed to nurture appropriate moral and spiritual values may be a single room where nine or ten people take their turn on the beds, with a toilet at the end of the hall shared by five or six other families, and probably out of order.

These conditions explain why there is a higher percentage of crimes which show an "inexplicable desire to hurt society" in big city slums. Maybe the experts have a point when they blame our affluence. While these young people hear a lot about the wonderful material advantages in America, constantly see them on TV and in the movies, they rarely manage to get possession of them. Yet they are urged to acquire the good things of life and reminded in hundreds of thousands of advertisements that they are close at hand. Auto theft is one of the most common juvenile crimes.

So it is not accidental that panels and conferences on delinquency issue completely senseless statements. The people who do the reporting are not in a position to say anything that makes sense because it would reveal too much, not about delinquents but about our society.

## More Reprisals Hit Negro Voters In Deep South

An attempt to register to vote by 36 Negroes at Indianola, Mississippi, has touched off a new wave of reprisals against sharecroppers and farmers in the Delta region. Two girls were wounded when shots were fired into their home in Ruleville, at least three sharecropper families have been evicted, five workers lost their jobs, and independent farmers are facing loss of private credit, according to reports received by the National Sharecroppers Fund. The NSF will hold a conference in Bricks, N.C., Nov. 14-16 to discuss ways of bringing aid and training programs to rural areas of the South.

Robert Moses, field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and leader of the voter registration drive in Mississippi, reported that plantation owners in the Delta had given notice that mass evictions would follow if any sharecropper attempted to register.

Another SNCC field secretary, Frank Smith, has requested Justice Department aid of President Kennedy for Marshall County, Miss., where only one Negro out of 200 applicants has passed a preliminary voter-registration test.

Smith said that of the 24,000 residents in Marshall County, 17,000 are Negro. Of these, only about 25 are registered to vote.

The 22-year old civil-rights worker has been threatened by the deputy sheriff and members of the State Patrol since his arrival. He added that the Justice Department had been informed of these facts but that no action had as yet been taken by Washington.

On Nov. 7, students from Philander Smith College began sit-in demonstrations at Woolworth lunch counters in Little Rock, Ark. The demonstrations, conducted by the Student Freedom Movement with assistance from a SNCC field secretary, were the first in two years.

Charles McDew, chairman of SNCC, has issued an appeal for aid to the field and office operations of SNCC. "We have urgent need for the following items: automobiles to help our field secretaries get around in the rural counties of Mississippi and Alabama as they encourage rural Negro citizens to register and vote," McDew said. "In our Atlanta office [6 Raymond Street, NW, Atlanta 14, Ga.] we need mimeographing paper so that we can increase our press service, and so that we can better communication between protest groups. We need typewriters, pens, pencils, and other office supplies."

"We appeal to concerned Americans to help us in our struggle."

## ... Meany and the NAACP

(Continued from Page 1)

is no exception, the problem goes much deeper. The basic evil which has corrupted the ILGWU and allowed racial barriers to continue in the industry — developing to alarming proportions within the union itself — is the policy of class collaboration followed by ILGWU President David Dubinsky.

The idea that it is possible for a union to avoid class struggle is very popular these days. But its real-life result is exemplified by the present state of the ILGWU. When a union won't fight the bosses, it can get concessions only by yielding something.

The blunt truth is that the Dubinsky leadership makes deals with the bosses at the expense of the lowest paid workers, at the expense of newcomers to the industry, at the expense of any strata of the rank and file not in a position to resist effectively. In return for a few concessions to those sections of the workers closest to his machine, Dubinsky permits the bosses a free hand to super-exploit those in the weakest position — the Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

Hill's proposal — government pressure on the union leaders — won't work because both the government and the present union leaders are committed to class collaboration, to avoiding real struggles between union and employers. Since the NAACP threw the light of publicity on the ILGWU situation, Dubinsky has responded. But not by taking any Negroes or Puerto Ricans into the top leadership, or by forcing employers and directing union hiring halls to place them in better paid jobs, or by launching an all-out campaign to get them into training programs and skilled locals. Such measures are reasonable but would require fighting the bosses and shaking up the union's privileged strata.

Dubinsky's response has been expensive full-page ads in newspapers denying discrimination

exists in the ILGWU.

The NALC convention, which heard Meany's speech, passed a resolution supporting the NAACP's drive against job discrimination, but not endorsing the suits for union de-certification. Backing this position, NALC President A. Philip Randolph declared: "I am unalterably committed to support of the NAACP. But we must carry on our fight within the house of labor."

This is a formally correct position. But the reason the job must be done within the labor movement is that it can only be accomplished by class-struggle methods. First step towards this is the development of a militant opposition in the unions to the leadership of the Dubinskys and Meany.

Has not the experience of two centuries shown that gradualism in theory is perpetuity in practice? Is there an instance, in the history of the world, where slaves have been educated for freedom by their taskmasters?

—Benjamin Franklin.

### A Correction

Through a typographical error, a sentence was left out of the text of Fidel Castro's Nov. 1 speech on UN inspection, which was printed in the Nov. 12 issue of *The Militant*. The omission occurred in the third paragraph from the end of the text. It is printed below with the sentence preceding and the sentence following. The sentence which was omitted is in boldface.

"Because it is said that in Sparta the mothers bade goodbye to their sons, saying: 'return with your shield or upon it.' **And here, a whole people — men, women, children, young and old — says the same thing to itself: with your shield or upon it.** Such a people is an invincible people."

## Yevtushenko's 'Letter to America'

America, I'm writing you from Cuba,  
Where this night in streaming thunderstorm,  
On alert, the cliffs gleam and the cheekbones  
Of the tensely stiffened sentinels.

Gulliver-like, their shadows are tremendous.  
Doctors and ministers with no spare words  
Change their jackets and their guayaberas  
For uniforms with bitter campfire smell.

A tobacco worker with his gun has come  
To the docks. A bootblack cleans an old machine  
gun.

An actress from a show, in soldiers' boots,  
With a machinist goes to stand a watch.

Leaving their paint brushes and their debates,  
Hurrying down the sea-front through the rain,  
Sternly testing out their automatics,  
Come both abstractionist and realist.

America, I'm asking you in Russian:  
Aren't you ashamed, with pious hypocrisy  
To force them to take weapons in their hands  
And then denounce them for precisely that?

Battling with slander of unholy stench,  
With the blockade, in physically-wearing struggle,  
They are behaving, America, toward you  
More nobly and more loftily by far.

For your sons and grandsons they feel sick.  
And, grieving in the church about your soul,  
Four old Negro women plead to God,  
America, to halt you in your path.

I heard Fidel's speech. He reviewed the case  
Like a doctor — and a prosecutor.  
In it there was no trace of bitterness,  
But reproach and sincere, sharp remorse.

Once as a youth, while running, light of heart,  
Up a flight of stairs to sound of birdsong,  
He, Fidel, had stopped by Lincoln's statue.  
And had looked directly in his eyes.

And speaking now about somebody's falsehoods,  
Compressing power in one steel-cast fist,  
Fidel looks Lincoln in the eye with honor.  
But Lincoln? — I don't know how Lincoln looks...

How, America, could you permit,  
Ranting and raving from your high tribunes,  
The visage of freedom, soaring over you,  
To be disgraced with mean, unworthy words?

You have affronted not only the Cubans,  
Pointing with boastful swagger at your fleet.  
You have affronted many different peoples,  
Including in that lot your very own.

I know your people. It is good in essence.  
Nor am I indifferent to its fate.  
For me it's frightful, painful to observe  
The base behavior of a land that's great.

It makes me sad for all now to stay silent,  
Forgetting the essence of their sacred rights.  
Are you not, America, growing petty,  
Trampling your own greatness underfoot?

To regain greatness is no simple thing.  
You have been losing it in a blind game,  
While a tiny but courageous island  
Is becoming truly a great land.

[The famous young Russian poet, Yevgeny Yevtushenko, telephoned this poem from Havana to Moscow Oct. 25 where it appeared the next day in *Pravda*. This is its first complete English translation. It was done for *The Militant* by George Saunders.]